1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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reason. Orange juice is bad because it keeps the teeth from coming out. Honey is hard on the stomachs of adults as well as children.

Children may be bathed once a week, but generally at about noon. They are wrapped in blankets like newborn infants and are then rubbed with alcohol "to make them warm."[1]

Children spend their time largely in or near the home, with the other members of the family. There is little organized play among groups of children. Games are few and simple: kites, hobbyhorses, balls. Boys early share in the simple tasks around the house, and girls, when yet very small, are instructed how to make *tortillas* and how to grind maize. Children enter as soon as possible into adult interests and occupations.[2] Confirmation takes place at about eight years.

It is generally recognized that people marry younger in the village of San Andres than in Tepoztlán and in the other hamlets. In San Andres girls marry as young as twelve, and boys when they are fourteen or fifteen. In Tepoztlán they marry at seventeen and nineteen, or later—"a few even as late as thirty." If the husband is already economically independent, he may bring his wife to a house and house site of his own. Very commonly, however, he has not yet secured his patrimony, and the newly married couple live with the bridegroom's parents or surviving par-

[1] There is probably occasional, but rare, artificial limitation of families. The principal informant said: "I like to bear children. There are some here who do not—who do not have children. I do not know how that is. But there are *curanderas* who know. They fix them [*descomponen*] with medicine. But that isn't good. God intended to punish us by having children. It is a mortal sin not to have them."

[2] No information was obtained on sex instruction or early sex experience.

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wise incapacitated, the husband will seek out the assistance of a female relative or, even though poor, may hire a servant. Occasionally one hears of a widower or bachelor who cooks and sweeps the house, but never of a man who washes or irons or grinds corn to make tortillas.

Women who have no one to support them may hire themselves out as domestic servants, laundresses, or seamstresses, or may become merchants or itinerant peddlers. The only profession which an educated woman can practice in the village is that of schoolteacher. As yet there is no demand for nurses, secretaries, or other skilled female workers. However, the lack of rigidity in the definition of women's occupations is reflected in the fact that on two occasions in the recent past a woman has held the job of secretary of the local government, a post traditionally filled by a man. Women are also members of religious *hermandades* as well as of the school committee. As a rule, however, women play only a minor part in public activities.

The more recent technological improvements represented by the increased use of the sewing machine, the commercial corn mills, the road, and the bus service have affected the work of women rather than men. The sewing machine and the corn mills save women many long hours of work. Previously women spent from four to six hours a day grinding corn by hand, often rising at four in the morning to prepare breakfast. The time now saved is used in various ways, such as getting more sleep, sewing, knitting, going to church, or visiting more often. In many cases the added leisure has been turned toward gainful pursuits, such as gardening, and raising chickens and pigs for sale. Not being so tied to the *metate*, women are able to leave the house more freely and undertake more extensive commercial activities. The improved communication offered by the road and bus has enabled some women to become merchants who go regularly to sell their produce in the Cuernavaca market.

BY AGE

Age is an important but not a rigid determinant in the division of labor. There are no organizations by age groupings in Tepoztlán which carry out assigned tasks. Most skills are learned within the family, beginning at an early age. However, in cases where a skill is learned outside of the family, apprenticeship begins in the late teens. The age at which men vote, begin guard duty, and do public collective labor, as well as enter the army, is determined by local or national law. By custom, men are not eligible for public office nor do they take part in political life until after marriage. Old people continue to work as long as they are physically able, and death is preferred to an incapacitated old age.

Children learn to work slowly and, with few exceptions, the belief that heavy labor will weaken a growing child governs the amount of work parents expect from their offspring. Boys are more carefully guarded in this respect than girls, since their labor in later life is considered harder and more important. At about the time they enter school, about age five, both boys and girls begin to do simple tasks in the house. As they get a little older they are generally glad to run errands

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near by, carry a small can of water or corn dough, or chase the chickens from the garden.

At the age of six, many children are sent alone to the corn mill or to the plaza to buy small articles. At seven, they may be required to take care of a younger brother or sister after school hours. Some differentiation between sexes in connection with work begins at about age six, when boys protest doing a girl's work and mothers tend to avoid assigning such tasks. But most small boys continue to do tasks for their mother at home for several years and are expected to obey her orders. At about age six, boys occasionally accompany their fathers to the fields. They look forward to this, and the first trip is an important occasion in their lives. Small boys are not expected to work in the fields but may help in weeding, watching the animals and tools, gathering wood for the fire, and in running errands. From about eight years of age, many boys regularly carry the noon meal to their father in the fields and are required to help with the weeding and cultivation.

As boys get older, their principal work is to pasture the animals and to guard them from being lost or stolen. This work is usually done alone but sometimes two brothers or cousins of about the same age go together. The boys are required to rise early, take the animals to pasture before school, and bring them home after school. Boys are frequently kept out of school to watch the animals or do some other work. From about ten years of age, boys join their fathers and brothers in the field daily to learn the work of a farmer. By the time a boy is fifteen he generally can drive a plow and go through all the necessary steps in planting and harvesting. Most boys enjoy this work and are eager to become farmers. At home, boys of fifteen or so usually haul water, water the plants, take care of large animals, provide firewood, pick fruit, and help shell corn.

Girls generally begin to help their mothers in a serious way at about age seven by taking care of younger children, sweeping, washing dishes, picking up the *petates*, putting away things, and feeding the chickens. Most girls are eager to learn to cook, grind corn, and make tortillas; they begin to learn at age five or six by imitating their mothers. By the time a girl is nine she is generally quite skillful at these tasks and can also cook beans, rice, and prepare coffee. At ten years of age, most girls are expected to wash and mend their own clothes and those of the baby of the family. A girl of thirteen frequently can do all the work of a woman except wash and iron large articles and cook more complicated dishes; this she begins to do at fifteen. Few girls are able to cut out and sew clothing before marriage, although it is one of the necessary skills.

BY SEASON

The seasonal division of labor follows quite closely the succession of wet and dry seasons. In plow culture, the agricultural cycle begins with the coming of the first rains, generally in May. In hoe culture, the preparation of the land begins in the dry season between January and February. In September and October the plum harvest engages most families, and then in December the corn harvest begins.

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Carmen is used widely in the village because of the numerous virtues attributed to it. It is useful to frighten away devils and other fear-inspiring beings. It also saves lives by deflecting bullets or machetes. If carried at the time of death, it insures the possibility of "dying well" and the certainty that the Virgen del Carmen will soon remove the soul from purgatory. For these reasons approximately three hundred men, women, and children customarily carry this scapulary.

e) Sagrado Corazón de Jesús celebrates Mass on the first Friday of each month in homage to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Again membership consists of thirty women. This association is considered most powerful because its members are "the best women in the village." The present president is the priest's sister.

f) Asociación de la Adoración Nocturna is made up exclusively of men. The forty members are obliged to confess each month and keep vigil all night of the first Saturday of each month, praying and giving praise to the Holy One. On the following Sunday each member takes communion. However, this society scarcely functions because the majority of the members refuse to fulfill the requirement of confession.

g) Acción Católica de Jóvenes Mexicanos consists of two sections, one for each of the sexes. There are about eighty youths and thirty girls in the organization. The members work to arouse the religious spirit of the people, to organize fiestas to raise funds, and to attract the youth to join. Under the stimulation of the nuns this organization has become extremely active. For the first time, young Tepoztecans have manifested a militant Catholicism of a modern type and have become interested in understanding the religious dogma and in recruiting new members. It is also the only religious association which has a sense of solidarity and imposes mutual obligations upon its members. Members visit each other when ill, celebrate each other's birthdays, and attend weddings and funerals.

h) Vanguardia is an association for children from seven to fourteen years of age. They are required to attend Mass, to confess, and to take communion every Sunday. Membership varies considerably during the year.

Other associations which function only once or twice a year also exist. Some of these are the Hermandád de las Ánimas which celebrates All Saints' Day on November first, the Sociedád de la Virgen de la Natividad which is in charge of preparations for the fiesta of the patron of the village on September eighth. Before the Revolution there was an Asociación de Caridad called San Vicente de Paul which distributed food and clothing to the poor. The society disappeared during the Revolution and was never reorganized.

(5) The *mayordomos,* religious leaders of the barrios, are important functionaries in connection with religious fiestas. They decide how the fiesta is to be celebrated, whether or not to have Mass sung, or to have a sermon, or to invite additional priests, and so on. They arrange for all these services, for the band of musicians, for fireworks, and for whatever else they decide to have. They frequently must spend their own funds to produce a successful fiesta. They also generally serve *mole* and tamales and *ponche* to large numbers of people.

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In anger Tepoztecans frequently throw stones at an offending person or animal. If a man is not pleased with his food he may throw it to the ground. Some women throw household objects in a fit of temper. Small children express rage in temper tantrums; and fighting among children, particularly boys, sometimes occurs in the absence of adults. Assault and murder also occur from time to time.

Fighting or attack is rarely the result of a direct challenge but may occur if two enemies meet when drunk or when one is ambushed by another. There is no tradition of giving warning or a "sporting chance"; rather, the victim is generally taken unaware, preferably under cover of darkness. A man may be beaten, shot, or fiercely slashed with a machete. Often the aggressor hits and runs without pausing to ascertain the condition of the victim. Several men, principally *políticos*, bear scars from such attacks. Men in positions of wealth, power, or authority habitually carry a gun for protection and prefer not to venture out at night. The authorities generally are unable to apprehend the culprit, who flees the village for a time.

Viewed historically, revolutions, civil wars, and political upheavals have offered a major outlet for direct aggression. It must be noted, however, that militarism and the glorification of the soldier are not Tepoztecan ideals. The history of the Revolution of 1910-20 in Tepoztlán reveals much bickering and feuds and a great deal of killing for reasons of envy and the seeking of power. Tepoztecan generals and other leaders were killed by jealous rivals within their own ranks as much as in battle.

How do Tepoztecans seek security in this environment? Security is sought first and foremost through the economic independence of the biological family. Work, industry, and thrift, for the purpose of accumulating property in land and animals, are the highest, most enduring values in Tepoztlán. To be able to provide the family with food, clothing, and shelter is the only real assurance against want or interference. To many, hard work becomes an end in itself. So long as a man devotes his time and powers to work, he feels secure and blameless; he judges his worth by the amount of his labors, rather than by what he produces. Thus, Tepoztecans frequently say that all is well even though they eat only *tortilla con sal*.

The absolute emphasis upon the need to work and the brutalizing, isolating nature of the farmer's work have far-reaching effects on his personality and his relations with others. One of these effects is to make him an individualist with faith in his own power alone and with reluctance to seek or give economic aid, to borrow or lend, or to cooperate with others in public and private enterprises.

On the other hand, economic independence and individualism do not preclude certain loyalties, identifications, and reciprocities with others, but rather make these imperative for survival. Loyalty and cooperation within the biological family is a necessary adjunct to individual independence. Without a family to back him up, the individual stands unprotected and isolated, a prey to every form of aggression, exploitation, and humiliation known in Tepoztlán. The fate of lone widows and of orphaned or fatherless children is generally a sad one, even when the extended family offers help. Although the role of the extended family in protect-

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chasing him. The boy ran terrified and screaming. In his haste he tripped over a stone and fell, causing much laughter among the grownups. Another boy of two is often deliberately frightened by his mother and relatives with worms, which make him scream in terror.

Lying and deception play an important part in parent-child relationships. Deception is used by parents and other adults as a technique in controlling children, and Tepoztecans would be at a loss without it in rearing their children. Mothers particularly tend to make and break promises easily and to trick their children into doing things. The use of little lies is so common as to be taken for granted, and children early become accustomed to it. The importance of deception in the relations between parents and children cannot be overemphasized, particularly in its effect upon the development of the character of Tepoztecans.

Deception of the parents on the part of Tepoztecan children becomes habitual at an early age. Lying is encouraged by the need to escape punishment, and punishable situations occur almost daily. Outright disobedience, which occurs often in the absence of the parents, must be covered up, as well as unavoidable but punishable acts, such as accidental losing or damaging of property or hurting a younger sibling. Children who are restricted as to when, where, and with whom they may play will lie to get more freedom. There is, of course, much deception concerning *novios* or sweethearts.

Parents view a child's lie primarily as a means of escaping difficult situations. There is little evidence of any moral indignation on their part, however. In punishing a child, the parents do not punish the lie as much as the misdeed the lie was meant to cover up. The child who lies is also viewed as an insubordinate child, and as such is resented by parents. Although children experience embarrassment when caught in a lie, there seems to be little guilt involved or shame in recounting the event to a third party.

The most important effect of the frequent use of deception is to cause mutual distrust between parents and children. Parents show a general distrust of their children and sometimes punish them for acts they deny having done, on the assumption that the children are lying. Much of parental behavior is rooted in the belief that a child tends to do wrong when he is not under the surveillance of an adult. Although fear is relied upon to control behavior, it is a form of remote control and as such is not entirely trustworthy.

Children's distrust of their parents is manifested primarily by withdrawal from the parents. Children generally do not confide private thoughts to their parents and gradually stop coming to them to seek information. The tendency of adults to give absurd or teasing answers further causes children to avoid asking questions. Questions on the part of children are generally not encouraged by parents and are frequently forbidden and punished. This is especially true of questions concerning sex and the body. The role of the parents in "keeping the eyes of the children closed" requires much use of deception, and children quickly learn not to ask questions about such matters nor to expect straightforward answers.

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mother proudly displayed a pillowcase she had embroidered with the words, "Sleep, my love" for her eighteen-year-old son. But mothers experience some difficulty in controlling the eldest son, who frequently imitates his father in demanding much service from the women in the family and in ordering his younger siblings about. The eldest son is expected to take the place of the father upon the latter's death, and to support his widowed mother and orphaned brothers and sisters. When this occurs, there is sometimes an extended struggle between the mother and the son for authority as head of the family. Widows who inherited their husband's property are in a better position to maintain authority and are usually careful to hold on to the property until death, for fear of losing all control of their sons. Propertyless widows, whose sons work as peons to support the family, usually permit the sons to rule over their brothers and sisters and over their mothers as well. Quarrels between mothers and sons arising out of the question of authority and inheritance are not infrequent; many mothers voice apprehension as to the treatment they may expect from their sons in their old age. There are several instances in which married sons do nothing to help support an old widowed mother or even mistreat her. On the other hand, there are several cases in the village in which an adult son, married or unmarried, continues to live with the mother and to work for her, sometimes well into his thirties, before receiving a share of his inheritance.

Many widows do not remarry because "the children get angry." Grown children tend to resent sharing the mother with a stranger and fear that they will be displaced. Eldest sons are known to be especially angered or "jealous," because they will no longer be the male head of the family. One widow said her eighteen year-old son threatened to beat her if she remarried. Some women express a sense of shame in taking another husband after their children are grown. The presence of grown children also act as a deterrent to widows having lovers.

The relations of mothers and daughters are usually very close. Not only does the mother teach the girl the household skills she knows, but they work side by side in the home until the daughter's marriage. The daughter gradually assumes the mother's role in the home and generally identifies with her. The mother's attitude toward her work, toward bearing children, and toward men and marriage becomes the girl's attitude. In homes in which the mother is dissatisfied or unhappy with her husband, the daughters are apt to take a negative attitude toward men and marriage.

With few exceptions, mothers press their daughters into service as early as possible and use them for all types of errands and chores; indeed, the way in which Tepoztecan households function makes it almost impossible for the mother to get along without help. The custom of having daughters work in the home is deeply ingrained in Tepoztlán, although less so than in the smaller surrounding villages. Many mothers resent the fact that the school takes away the girls for the major part of the day. Mothers frequently absent their daughters from school or withdraw them permanently as soon as the husband permits. Girls under the age of thirteen usually prefer to be in school and may resist the mother's attempt to keep them

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593 857 [875] 594 [581] home. However, the majority of girls leave school after the third grade, or at eleven years of age. An occasional mother identifies with the daughter and expresses her own ambitions for schooling by allowing the girl to complete the elementary school course.

When a girl is at home, she is at the complete disposal of her mother. The mother is in a position to exploit the daughter and frequently does, especially the eldest daughter. Many girls marry to escape the hard work at home, and some of our case histories reveal the resentment daughters sometimes hold in retrospect toward their mothers. The following was told by a woman forty years of age:

> My mother was a widow. When I was nine we went to Tacubaya because it was the time of the Revolution. My mother borrowed three pesos and made *atole* and *tacos* and sold them. She did well the first year. Then she made meals for 190 factory workers. I made tortillas when I wasn't going to school. I went to school for four years and each morning I got up at 5:00 A.M. and ground corn, and made coffee for my mother, brothers, and sister. I never ate breakfast before school for lack of time. I also made the tortillas for the family for lunch and supper. My mother hired three women and a boy to help her at her work, and she made a lot of money. After four years she took us back to Tepoztlán because she didn't want us to grow up perverse. Then my three older brothers became teamsters and left the house at 4:00 or 5:00 A.M. every day. I had to get up at 1:00 A.M. to grind and make tortillas and *tacos* for them. After they left, I swept the patio and garden and fed the pigs and chickens. Then I made tortillas for my mother, grandmother, and sister. After breakfast I had to grind corn for the two or three pigs we always had and then again for the evening meal. I cut and sewed the clothes, washed and ironed, and did all the work of the house when I was fourteen. I also milked the cows. My mother was always a merchant. Since I was such a hard worker they began to ask for my hand but my mother and brothers did not want me to marry. I, poor thing, loved my mother and didn't understand how mean she was. She didn't love me because she made me work so hard when she had enough money to hire a maid. I took care of my mother, but when I was twenty I was fed up with it and eloped with my *novio*.

593 584 The mother is usually the daughter's chaperone when attending fiestas or when visiting. It is the mother's obligation to guard all grown daughters from having contact with boys. If she fails in this the mother will be subject to the father's anger. Many mothers complain that the necessity to "spy" on their daughters is a heavy burden. A mother who must leave her fifteen-year-old daughter at home with the little ones while she goes to the plaza is anxious over the possibility that the girl will speak to a boy in her absence. If the mother learns that her daughter has a *novio*, it is common for her to beat the girl without the father's knowledge and to keep the matter a secret. Although most mothers are harsh in their treatment of [848] a daughter who becomes pregnant before marriage, they are less so than the fathers and tend to be more forgiving.

593 864 Respect-relations between mother and daughter require an avoidance of intimate subjects. Mothers do not customarily prepare their daughters for menstruation or discuss the body or any aspect of sexual relations. And girls do not inform their

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mothers when they first menstruate, nor do they seek information concerning pregnancy, birth, or marriage. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage, she will consult a friend or *curandero* as to what to do. Even after marriage, the girl informs her mother-in-law rather than her mother of her pregnancy, and the mother takes an active role as adviser or assistant only if there is no mother-in-law to do so.

Mother-daughter relations are almost severed when the girl marries, particularly if the girl lives with her mother-in-law for several years. It is common for mothers to weep at a daughter's marriage because they are "losing her," and they miss her for a long time.

When a married daughter leaves her mother-in-law's home to live alone, close relations with her mother are generally resumed. Women do not expect financial assistance in their old age from their married daughters because it is "up to the son-in-law." But many married daughters help their mothers with money and corn without the knowledge of their husbands.

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If the mother-child relationship is the strongest bond in Tepoztlán, that between siblings ranks next. Sibling solidarity is an ideal which parents try to instill in their children. "Take care of him, he is your brother" is often repeated. Nevertheless, sibling relations are often poor, especially in adulthood, and Tepoztecans themselves recognize the sharp gap between theory and practice. The ties between siblings are closest in childhood. Up to about age five or six, siblings are constant companions, and their relationship is but little affected by the differences in sex. Later, sex status becomes much more important, as the sister begins to identify with the mother and her work, and the brother with the father.

An older sister has a special role in caring for her younger siblings and often shows affection and devotion in bringing up the children. But some of the older daughters are rejecting this role in favor of continuing their education. Older brothers have a preferred status in the family and can demand respect and obedience from younger brothers and sisters. In the absence of the parents they take on the role of the father and may discipline their younger siblings. Even after marriage, younger siblings are expected to consult with the older brother about important decisions. But this pattern is rapidly disappearing.

The authority of older siblings over younger is tempered somewhat by the parents' insistence that the older sibling protect and even defer to the younger child. If a young child wants something belonging to an older brother or sister, the parents see to it that he receives it. If an older child is sitting in a chair wanted by a three-year-old, the older child is told to get up and give it to him. In one family a ten-year-old boy, who complained to his parents that his six-year-old brother woke up at night to steal his marbles, was told not to be selfish and to let the younger one have them. When two children quarrel, the older one is automatically blamed because "he is older and should know better," or both children are punished without the parents inquiring into the situation. It is significant that older children never

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854 [171] [735] the left arm with one end of the *rebozo* tightly tucked around the child's body and the other end brought around the mother's shoulders and also tucked under the child. This makes the child snug and takes some of his weight off the mother's arm. Tepoztecans regard carrying a child on the back as primitive and associate it with poverty, because a poor woman needs both hands free to work. Most children are quiet, passive, and content as long as they are being carried. The child's arms are free if he is past swaddling age, but his ability to move is relatively limited. Many mothers say that as long as there is someone to carry the child they prefer him to be carried, otherwise he gets dirty, touches things, and demands the mother's attention.

The majority of mothers have someone to assist them in taking care of their small children. The assistant may be an older child, a grandmother, a niece, the daughter of a neighbor, or a young girl hired for the purpose. Most often the assistant is an older brother or sister, who may also be a small child. The practice [857] of giving over the infant, from the age of four months on, to a child-nurse is almost universal in Tepoztlán, and infants early come into contact with people other than the mother.

854 857 Under the best conditions, the infant is cared for by the oldest daughter, who may be thirteen years of age or over and who has had experience in the care of children. This sister often is an adequate mother substitute, and a close, affectionate relationship may develop between the girl and the infant. But frequently the infant is given over to the care of an eight- or nine-year-old, or one even younger, who sometimes resents the role of nurse. Sometimes children, particularly boys, run off into the street when they are told to take care of the baby. The child-nurse is expected to carry the baby about, usually in the patio and sometimes in the street. The baby may not be taken far away, in case he cries and wants to nurse. If the baby is hurt or becomes ill, the child-nurse is blamed and often punished.

For example, a seven-year-old girl was taking care of her seven-month-old brother while the mother went to the plaza. The baby awoke from sleep and began to cry. The little girl took him out in the street to divert him but neglected to cover him well. That night the baby had a fever, and six days later he died of pneumonia. The mother blamed the girl for the death of the baby but did not punish her because "she had only wanted to keep the baby from crying." But the little girl cried a great deal because of the things her mother had said to her. A large number of children, particularly girls, receive severe punishment because of accidents which occur while they are taking care of younger brothers and sisters.

854 858 A first-born or favorite child, or a child in a more acculturated family, often receives different treatment than other children. In addition to more solicitous, indulgent, and affectionate care, these children are unswaddled earlier, not carried as much after they can walk, and are permitted more freedom to walk and play where they wish. They are followed about by their grandmother, nurse, or even their father, or some other indulgent member of the family, and carefully watched. They are often allowed to play with many objects, usually forbidden; get dirty with-

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Masturbation is not tolerated at any age and is swiftly punished. Punishment consists of slapping the hands, beating, shaming, and frightening. One boy of five was severely beaten with a rope by his father without explanation because the latter saw the boy holding his penis. One woman threw stones at her eight-year-old daughter and called her names when she saw her examining her genitals while urinating. Children who show interest in their body are *vicious* or *malicious* and are called names, such as *cochino* (pig) and *puerco* (hog). Parents who fail to correct their children are called *imoral* or *indecente*. Careful parents keep their children off the streets for fear that they might learn masturbation from their friends. Although occasionally an incorrigible boy may be seen to masturbate surreptitiously, with his hands in his pockets, it is rare to see a child touching his genitals. If masturbation occurs it is secretive.

Between the ages of two and five, children are free to devote themselves entirely to play. Small children are limited, for the most part, to playing in the patio or corral. The only time they are seen in the streets is when they are accompanied by some older member of the family. (See Fig. 54.) They play alone or more usually

Fig. 54. Mother and child.

with brothers and sisters or cousins or perhaps neighbors, whose ages range from five to ten. Older children are required by the parents to play with their younger brothers or sisters, so that it is rare for the latter to be shut out of play. The older children are also expected to keep the younger ones contented and are responsible for their safety. As during infancy, a cry or complaint to the parents on the part of the youngest child usually brings scoldings or punishment down upon the older children. Small children frequently receive rough treatment during play, both intentionally and unintentionally, and are sometimes bribed by the older children

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857 [865] not to inform the parents. In a few cases the younger child is the object of much hostility and rivalry on the part of his older siblings, and is subject to surreptitious abuse. In one case a three-year-old girl was hit and mistreated so often by her brothers and sisters, that, to protect her, her parents had to send her to stay with her grandmother.

Small children begin, at first in a passive way, to join the games of the older children as soon as they are able to understand what to do. Often the two-, three-, or four-year-old plays the part of the baby and is merely carried about, put to sleep, or fed in play. It is when they play at house, school, *compadres*, fiesta, baptism, [867] musician, funeral, and other games imitating adult behavior, that the small child begins to learn the customs of the culture. Girls of five often beg for a little corn 524 to grind and make into tortillas, or for a *rebozo* in which to wrap a rag doll. Boys 857 of five imitate older boys' games, such as spinning tops or playing marbles. Other toys are rarely made or bought for children of this age group, and generally only favored children receive them. The majority of children content themselves with playing with sticks, stones, leaves, flowers, corncobs, etc. Pencils, crayons, and writing paper are considered too valuable for children to play with, and preschool children have very little experience with these articles, to say nothing of books and pictures.

857 It is difficult to get information concerning sex play of children. Questions 864 about sex play of children received a blanket denial from parents, who maintained that their children are innocent and know nothing of life. But it is clear from the life stories we have taken that children have notions about sex, and sex play does occur secretively, particularly in playing house and at being *novios*. Girls often frequently teach smaller boys what to do.

857 For the most part children between two and four years of age are kept at home if there is someone to take care of them, because they are often too heavy to carry long distances and cannot walk well over the hilly, stone-paved streets. At four or five years, girls and boys often accompany their mothers to the plaza and may carry [866] the can of corn or *nixtamal*. Some mothers report that their children are extremely timid when they first begin to go visiting or marketing, and nervous habits such as chewing at their clothing begin at that time.

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Fig. 57. Going to school frees many girls from heavy chores.

confinement, and generally do not resist staying home from school to work. From the third grade on, many of them often play truant (*pintar venado*) to go swimming, to play games, or to go to a nearby town. Most boys look forward to the time when they will withdraw from school permanently to become farmers.

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Most Tepoztecan mothers are accustomed to putting children to work as soon as they are physically able, and to keep them at home, available to do tasks as they arise. The amount of work to be done at home by boys and girls of school age varies from family to family, and frequently depends upon the degree of control the mother has over her children. Parents traditionally punish young recalcitrants severely, so that by the time they are ready to assume regular tasks there is no question of obedience. Play has always been, and still is, viewed by most parents as a possible source of danger and a waste of time. Attendance at school has caused parents to modify their view of children as a source of labor and has disrupted the traditional division of labor within the home. It has thrown a heavier burden of work on the mother, who depended upon her children for assistance, and on the father, who now must do some of the minor chores traditionally done by boys.

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School has not only helped to reduce the amount of daily work done by children, but has postponed for many the age at which they work to contribute to their own support. Going to school has taken children out of the limited sphere of parental influence and has awakened new desires. One immediate and obvious effect of school has been the great increase in the desire of children to meet friends and to play after school. They are no longer always content to return home and remain

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within the patio walls, at the beck and call of their mother. In many families there is a constant tug of war between parents and children over how much time is to be given to play. Children are more difficult to control, and some parents find it necessary to withdraw their children from school or to punish them frequently. In the past, by the time a child reached nine or ten years of age he seldom required a beating; he had learned to obey. Today, obedience from a child of school age, particularly a boy, is maintained by the parents with continued application of "a strong hand."

In general, boys have more freedom to play than girls. But even when boys still too young to go to the fields with their father are not required to work at home, it is thought highly desirable for them to play at home with brothers and sisters. More "careful" parents try to keep their young sons off the streets, to protect them from learning "malice" from other boys, who are invariably described as "bad companions." But, as we have indicated, it is difficult for the mother to control sons, in the absence of the father. Boys from the age of six to ten frequently are seen playing in the street.

With few exceptions, girls are much more under the control of their mothers than boys are. Girls play in snatches between errands and chores, and as they grow older, less and less time for play is available. The burden of household work usually falls on the eldest daughter, although in most families all girls over ten are pressed into continual service. There is a particularly sharp, consistent drop in the enrollment of girls in school after the fourth grade, and approximately half of the school girls between ages ten and eleven are withdrawn from school to help with the younger children at home. (See Fig. 58.) Under special circumstances—such as the death of either parent, the birth of a new sibling, or the inability of the mother to take care of many school children or many grown sons unassisted—a girl may be permanently withdrawn from school before the age of ten. By the time a girl is twelve or thirteen she is considered too mature to attend school because of the possibility of involvements with boys, and she is generally kept at home. A very small percentage of girls attend school until the sixth grade. They are usually, though not necessarily, from middle-group or better-to-do families and often continue their schooling to become teachers or dressmakers. These girls are almost the only girls in the village who enjoy daily leisure and have some personal freedom.

Children of school age play a wide variety of games, some of which are learned and played at school, but most games are learned from older children. In the latter group are some games which have in all probability been played for hundreds of years, and others were taught in the schools before and just after the Revolution. Most of the games played in Tepoztlán are well known in other parts of Mexico and Latin America.

A comparison of some of the old and new games reveals significant contrasts and is suggestive of the type of influence being exerted by the school. The older games are characterized by quiet play, relatively little physical exertion, little or no

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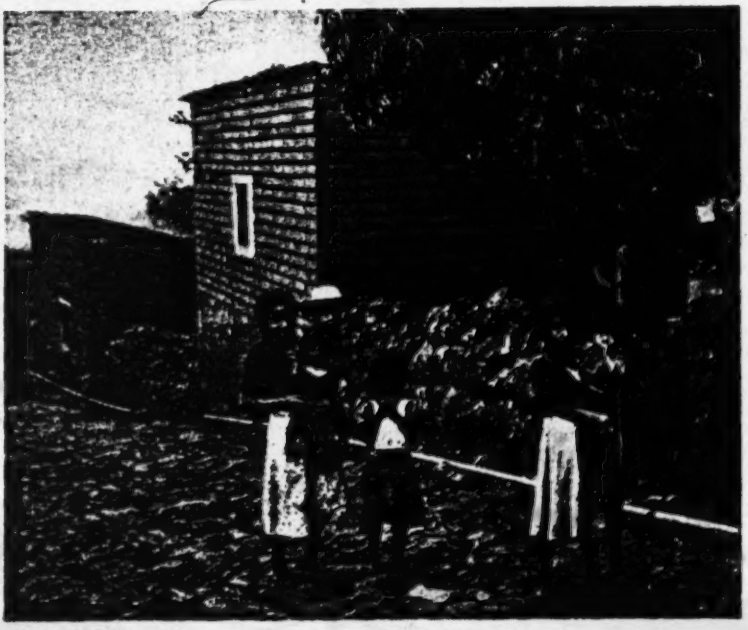

Fig. 58. Child nurses.

physical skill or individual competition (except for marbles and tops), and loosely organized play groups. These games also reflect, to a striking degree, the customs, religion, and temperament of the people. Most of the older games involve running and tagging, singing, responding, and imitating adult life. Choosing between alternatives and receiving punishment in the form of work tasks are also common features.

In contrast, the games taught at school are those in which teamwork, competition, scoring, definite goals, loyalty, leadership, sportsmanship, and physical exertion have an important place. This is especially true of games organized for boys and older girls. These games are popular among the young people and are played with enthusiasm.[1]

The range of activities of boys and girls varies widely insofar as work, school, and play are concerned, and can best be appreciated by describing some cases. The following brief accounts of three boys and three girls represent both the extreme and the middle-of-the-road type. The extreme of more work than play, and almost no schooling, is perhaps the most widespread situation in Tepoztlán.

[1] See Appendix F, p. 491, for list of games most commonly played in school and at home by Tepoztecan children.

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ELEUTERIA V.: Eleuteria is sixteen years old and the oldest child in the family. Her mother is a widow who supports her children by teaching school. Eleuteria had to take care of five younger brothers and sisters from the time she was seven and one-half years of age. She attended school for one and one-half years until she was nine. During this time she helped her mother cook, sweep, carry water, and make tortillas. Before going to school in the morning she cleaned the house and on her return she took care of her sisters and brothers. She liked school but she was always tired, and when her mother suggested that she stay home all the time Eleuteria was glad to. She then did all the work of the house. She bathed and dressed the children, washed and ironed their clothing, and did all the cooking. At that time she was still young enough to be afraid to lift the hot *comal* off the fire. She also ground the corn and coffee. Eleuteria envied the girls in the neighborhood who could play, and sometimes she tied her youngest brother to her back with her *rebozo* in order to join their games. She did this in the greatest secrecy because if her mother had known, she would have been severely punished. Her mother often scolded or beat Eleuteria for not doing her work well or for letting anything happen to the smaller children. Eleuteria frequently scolded and hit her brothers and sisters to get them to obey her. When her younger sister was able to help at home, Eleuteria went to work at a corn mill for sixty centavos a day. She used this money to buy herself clothing and sometimes little toys or goodies for her younger brothers and sisters. She always cleaned the house before going to work in the morning and did the heavy washing and ironing at night.

FELICITA Z.: Felicita is fifteen years old. She lives with her mother, stepfather, three older brothers, and three younger half-brothers and sisters. Felicita was enrolled in school at the age of seven and attended irregularly until she was ten. Her mother kept her home at the slightest pretext, and Felicita learned very little. When she was ten, another child was born, and Felicita was withdrawn from school. Felicita cried when she was taken out of school, not because she liked to study but because she could no longer see her friends or play at school. She went about her work sullenly and took little interest in it. Everyone considered her lazy and bad tempered, and her younger brothers and sisters were afraid of her. Her mother complained that she had to shout and scold, or hit the girl, to get her to do her work. Once her mother threw a stone at Felicita and bruised her badly because she had played deaf when she was called. Felicita refused to go on errands for her grandmother or aunt who lived nearby unless they gave her five centavos in payment. When Felicita was ten she once expressed fear (to the investigator who knew her then) of becoming fifteen, because then she would have to do heavier work. Now at fifteen she still goes about her work unwillingly but is much less sullen and resentful. She takes more interest in her appearance and is happier because she has nicer clothes. Whenever her mother promises to buy something for her, she does her work with a will.

CARMEN G.: Carmen, age seventeen, is the youngest daughter in a well-to-do family. She lives with her parents and older brother. She has two older sisters, both of whom have had an advanced education and are now married. Carmen attended school from kindergarten to the sixth grade and was absent only when ill. She never did any work at home during this time because her older sisters helped her mother. Carmen had many friends and spent all her time playing with them, either at her home or theirs. At the age of twelve, Carmen was sent to Mexico City where she lived with her mother's sister and

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attended a secondary school. She studied dressmaking and learned to do fine work. After she had completed her course she began to earn a comparatively good salary and wanted to continue living in the city. But her parents did not think it proper for a single girl to live away from home and insisted that she return. Her two sisters had married, and her mother needed help. At sixteen, Carmen returned discontentedly because there was no market for her expensive work in the village. It soon became evident that Carmen was not going to be of much assistance at home. When she was asked to do any work in the kitchen she developed a backache or a headache and had to lie down. If she was sent to the plaza to buy anything, she returned with inferior articles for which she had paid too much. After a while one of the married sisters took over the family marketing, and Carmen now spends most of the day making dresses and blouses for herself or going for walks with some of her friends, all girls who have been educated outside of the village. She gives frequent parties and dances at home for her friends of both sexes and attends the public dances in the plaza. Her parents disapprove of her parties, but they permit her to have her own way. Most people in the village, except some of the younger ones, disapprove of her.

ALBINO R.: Albino is thirteen years old and is the youngest child. He lives with his parents and older brother. An older sister is married and lives away. His father works on a hacienda and comes home every eight days. His brother works as a laborer in Tepoztlán. The family is landless and poor. Neither Albino nor his brother and sister went to school for more than two years, and all are practically illiterate. His mother kept Albino and his sister at home to do errands. Albino, from the age of eight, had to take his brother's horse to and from the pasture. Albino was always at the beck and call of his mother, and if he wandered too far or played too much he received a sound beating. When he was ten the family acquired a burro, and the boy was withdrawn from school in order to guard the burro and the horse in the pasture. From age ten to thirteen, Albino did nothing but this work and ran errands for his mother. Since the family is landless, the boy never had an opportunity to learn to farm. When he is fifteen he will be hired out as a day laborer.

JUAN R.: Juan is fifteen and has lived with his widowed grandmother from the time he was weaned. His mother, stepfather, and married uncle live on the same *sitio*. Juan entered school at eight and attended irregularly until he was twelve years old. During this time he took his grandmother's cows to and from pasture and sometimes accompanied his uncle to the fields in order to learn to farm. He also carried water and helped his grandmother gather wood, though sometimes he was disobedient and refused to do anything. After school hours, he played in the street with his friends or joined a baseball or basketball game in the school yard. As he grew older he began to stand at street corners with older boys. He frequently stayed away from school to go swimming and did not come home until late. His teachers twice complained about his behavior in school. His grandmother was afraid "something bad would happen to him," and in order to make him more "serious" took him out of school and put him to work full time in the fields with his uncle. She attributed his behavior to the fact that he did not have a father to fear. Juan was sorry to leave his friends but was happy to go to work with his uncle and soon forgot about school. He worked hard and gave all his money to his grandmother. He occasionally went out with his friends in the evening but was usually tired

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and went to bed early. By the time he was fifteen, his grandmother had saved enough money for him to buy a burro. After that he became "very serious" and always brought her all the wood and water she needed and worked like a man in the fields. Juan is very contented and looks forward to the time he will receive the land which his grandmother has promised him as an inheritance.

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Higinio F.: Higinio is fifteen and lives with his parents and five younger brothers and sisters. His father is a former schoolteacher, merchant, and bus driver. At present his father is an official of one of the local bus companies. Higinio had been sickly as a child, and it was early decided that he was better suited to the life of a student than to that of a farmer. He was enrolled in kindergarten at the age of five and, except for one year which he lost because of illness, he attended regularly until he completed the sixth grade. During the time he went to school his father did not permit him to play in the street or to have friends. If he was found playing marbles with other boys, as he frequently was, or if he delayed too long in running an errand, he was severely scolded or spanked by his father. Higinio was required to take care of his youngest brother after school hours. Higinio has never gone to the fields and knows nothing of taking care of animals or farming. Nor has he ever gone to the hills to gather firewood, and only occasionally is he asked to carry water. Higinio attended religious classes at the church for many years. He reads a good deal at home, and his parents have encouraged this by buying him a book from time to time. When Higinio was thirteen, he entered a secondary school in Cuernavaca since he could ride on the bus every day without charge. His parents hope to be able to have him educated to be a lawyer.

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Los Santos Viejos, or the Old Saints: Three players are purchasers; the rest each choose to be a saint, imitating a characteristic pose. The purchasers go from saint to saint examining each to see if they wish to buy it. The saint they decide to purchase runs away. If she is caught by the purchasers, she is given a task to do.

Los Listones, or the Ribbons: Three players are purchasers, the rest are "ribbons," each of a designated color. The three purchasers approach saying, "tan, tan." The others ask, "Who it is? What do you wish?" They answer, "A ribbon." "What color?" is then asked. When a correct color is named, the "ribbon" must run and be chased by the purchaser. If caught, she is punished.

La Mama Cochina, or the Mother Pig: One player is the mother pig who must cook the *atole*. The other players are visitors who ask for an herb. The mother pig says, "Go and pick some." They answer, "We don't want to because of the dog, or coyote," etc. The mother pig then agrees to pick some if they will stir the *atole*. When she leaves, the visitors shout that the *atole* has burned, and they run away followed by the mother pig. She punishes all those caught, by giving them work or by hitting them.

El Perrito Ladrón, or the Thieving Little Dog: The players form one line. One player says, "How many little dogs are there in the oven?" The others respond, "Twenty-one burned ones." "Who burned them?" "The thieving little dog." "Burn them, burn them for stealing." The last one leads the line under the arms of the first, and the line faces the other way, with the second player's arms crisscrossed. After each chant, the line files through until everyone stands with crisscrossed arms.

Spinning Tops (for boys): A circle is drawn on the ground and some coins are placed within. If a top touches a coin and leaves the circle, the player wins the coin. There are several other variations of top games in Tepoztlán.

Marbles (usually for boys): A hole is made and a line drawn at a distance of about two meters. The players throw their marbles, and the one nearest the line is first player. The marbles are then thrown into the hole. If successful, the player gets three points, and his marble is placed a span's length from the hole and directed at other marbles nearby. If another marble is struck, the player wins three points. The first to earn twenty-one points wins one or two marbles.

Kite-flying: Popular among boys.

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Games imitating adult life (played by girls and small boys).

A la Casita, or House: Building a house of mud, stones, branches, boxes, and blankets and providing it with furnishings, and often including a father, mother, and children.

A la Comidita, or Cooking: Cooking and eating a meal.

A la Madrina, or Godmother: Acting out all the steps in requesting someone to be godmother, baptizing the child, and feasting afterward.

A la Plazita, or Market Place: Each child sets up a stand of fruits, leaves, etc., and buys and sells each other's wares.

A la Milpa, or Farming: The boys go to work in the fields, and the girls carry food to them.

A la Procesión: A religious parade carrying a saint, candles, and flowers. One child takes the part of the priest.

Al Muertito, or Funeral: Acting out a child's funeral with a doll.

A la Cantina, or Drinking: Selling punch, alcohol, and drinks; becoming drunk, shouting, and falling down like drunkards.

A la Piñata: Several children contribute five centavos each to buy peanuts or candy

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857 which is placed in a jar as during the Days of the Posadas. The jar is hung high, and the children try to break it with sticks. The one who breaks it gets a spanking, and all eat the contents.

A los Novios, or Sweethearts: The children divide into couples or sweethearts. One is the mother of the girls. When she sends the girls on errands, they are stopped by their sweethearts. When the girls return home late, they are scolded and spanked by their mother.

Al Vestido, or Dressing Dolls (for girls): Making dresses for dolls out of leaves or bits of cloth.

A los Músicos, or Musicians (usually for boys): Imitating local bands of musicians.

A los Chinelos, or Dancers: Dressing in paper masks and *rebozos* or rags to make costumes and jumping like *chinelos* to their own music.

A los Toros, or Bullfighting: The girls or small domestic animals generally take the part of the bull and the boys, the part of the matador.

A Escuelita, or School: Playing school.

A la Iglesia, or Church: A group of girls make an altar, kneel before it, and place flowers and candles on it.

Al Viaje, or Traveling: Traveling in a train or bus.

Al Doctor, or Doctor: Imitating *curanderos* and local methods of curing with herbs, massages, and cleansings.

NEW GAMES TAUGHT IN SCHOOL

526 *Futbol, or Soccer Game (for older boys):* This game is extremely popular, and some young men continue to play it even after marriage.

Vollibol, or Volleyball (for boys and girls of the upper grades).

Beisbol, or Baseball (for older boys and youths).

Basketbol, or Basketball (for older boys and youths).

524 *Rey de Círculo, or King of the Circle:* A large circle of about three meters in radius is drawn on the ground. All players enter the circle and try to push each other out. The last one to remain is King of the Circle.

La Metralla, or the Cannon: Two groups hold hands and form circles, one inside the other. Each circle pushes against the other in an effort to break through.

Qué Peces Somos, or What Fish Are We: A large outer circle is formed, each player standing inside a small circle. In the center are four players. The outer circle selects the name of a fish and advances slowly saying, "What fish are we?" If one of the inner circle guesses correctly, all players dash to the outer circle to secure a small circle in which to stand. The four who remain with no small circle must go to the center.